114 175 The Tupí tribe found by a bandeira [Tr., pioneering expedition] that left São Paulo in 1613 lived not far from the mouth of the Itacaiunas, namely, on the right bank of the Araguaia, two leagues above its confluence with the Tocantins. The account of this meeting, published only recently by Serafim Leite (1, 103-110), is as far as I know the first reference to a Tupí tribe on the Araguaia. According to Taunay (181-192), several bandeiras left São Paulo between the beginning of the seventeenth century and the departure of the above-mentioned expedition. The data relating to these expeditions are so defective, however, that it is possible to identify the place names on the itinerary only in a few cases. Among the few expeditions which may thus be identified, there is not one to the Araguaia. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

The above-mentioned document dealing with the 1613 expedition, recently published by Father Leite, was written by the Jesuit Antonio de Araujo and covers the information provided by Pero Domingues, one of the 30 inhabitants of the São Paulo settlement who made up the expedition. Referring to "seven very large villages" found by the 175 travelers "about two leagues from the bar of the Iabeberi," that is, the Tocantins (cf. Leite 1, 101), the report goes on to say (ibid., 105-106): "The Indians in these villages were called Caatingas. Their language was the tongue common to these shores. Our men found [439] among them many iron tools, scythes, wedges, axes, many glass beads, and large quantities of Rouen shirts, along with numerous hats, all of which they said they had obtained in trade from the French for feathers and arrows, of which they had many canoefuls in their houses, and also for cotton. They asserted that the French were at a distance of only 11 days' journey down-river and lived in a fortress they had built many years previously, and added that they had a sugar mill and made sugar from the cane plantations they owned. They [648] confessed that they had put to death seven Frenchmen who must have fled the fortress of their countrymen, at whose request the Indians killed them. And, without being asked, they said that so many days' journey away, on another arm of the same Pará River, lived those whom we call Almazonas and whom they call [98:108] Camaĩma, that is to say, 'breastless women.' They also stated that there were large numbers of villages down-river on both sides of the stream, and 175 that they were not scarce up-river but toward the interior. The in- 648 habitants of the seven villages sent messengers forthwith to the other

175 villages, asking them to come and visit the Whites who were with
648 them. The 30 men, wary and afraid that some treachery might be afoot, resolved not to stay long in those parts. They sang the praises of the Whites, asked the Indians to come with them to São Paulo where they would be near their churches and all that was necessary for their salvation, but they did all this deceitfully, in a professional backwoods way. They stirred 3,000 souls. And since the
[241] Indians not long before had changed the site [of their gardens] and the provisions of manioc flour from the plots they had abandoned
[501] were almost exhausted, they embarked four days later in 300 canoes out of the many they owned. On embarking, the 30 men managed to take from them all their bows and arrows. They proceeded up-river, touching ground every day to rest and sleep. Among the 3,000 souls was an Indian woman (who must have been the daughter of one of the seven Frenchmen, whose progeny was numerous), the wife of the son of a certain chief who had followed our men. This woman (who had been neatly endowed by nature, according to the informant, with all the parts requisite to a perfect body) was given by the captain to one of his henchmen. The latter, either to rid himself of the worry caused by the presence of the woman's husband, or perhaps to add to it still further, returned the woman to the captain. The wretched Indian was so deeply affected by the usurpation of his rightful matrimony, and the others by the fact that within a few days they would all be separated, that at a certain time and place they got together and rose against the 30 men, killing 16 and a few of the Indians they had taken with them. Satisfied with the death of these men, they turned back toward their villages in the same canoes. The 14 men who got away, but whom the Indians could have killed, proceeded up-river with only two of the aforementioned Caatingas, who either would not or could not follow the other Indians. They reached the São Paulo settlement, which they had left 19 months earlier..."

174 The identification of their language with Lingua-geral [Tr.,
101 the Tupí lingua franca] characterizes the "Caatingas" as Tupí. To
[197] my knowledge, there is no evidence of the existence of other Tupí Indians, besides the Tapirapé, along the part of the Araguaia that stretches between its confluence with the Tocantins and the northern part of Bananal Island. We must take into account, however, that

823 [173] that they may have heard this word from Whites talking about the Xingu. As I was told in Tampiitáua, no Tapirapé had seen that chinghó river except for one single youth "who was there once, about 20 years ago." I could not obtain any further information about the life or death of this traveler. It may be that he accompanied Valadar, the Karajá famed for his exploring journeys, who visited the Tapirapé in 1911 with Alfredo de Oliveira of Ceará. The Tapirapé Kamairahó indeed told me that Valadar had taken a few of them along when he made a trip to the Xingu at that time. It may be that only one of those Tapirapé actually got to see the great river, perhaps only that single youth of which they spoke to me in the village. Be that as it may, by what I know of the cultures of the upper Xingu tribes and that of the Tapirapé, it is unquestionable that the latter did not come to their present habitat from the west.

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Everything indicates, in fact, that they have lived since the eighteenth century in the hinterland of the left bank of the Tapirapé, or in other words, in the northern part of this river basin. [Ed., the last paragraph, which concludes the section in Vol. 98, is omitted.]

Chapter 3

[99:63] Contact with the Whites

175 [648] Both Tapirapé and Karajá call the Whites torí. [Ed., the remainder of p. 63, p. 64, and most of p. 65 are omitted.]

[99:65] The contact of the Tapirapé with the Whites during the seventeenth century is neither more nor less uncertain than the identification of these Tupí Indians with the "Caatingas" and "Pirapés." We must assume, however, that White men visited the Tapirapé in their present habitat in the course of the following century. This is implied not only by the path of [99:66] the pioneers indicated by a dotted line on the eighteenth century map, but also by a reference cited by Ehrenreich (2, 88), according to which these Indians had contact with

175 colonists on the Tapirapé River in the eighteenth century. [Ed., the remainder of the paragraph is omitted.]

113 175 Numerous nineteenth century authors refer to the Tapirapé. I have already mentioned what Silva e Souza said in 1812, Pizarro e Araujo in 1822, Cunha Mattos in 1824, Eschwege in 1830, Ayres de Cazal in 1833, Milliet de Saint-Adolphe in 1845, Monteiro Baena in 1847, Saint-Hilaire in 1848, and Alencastre in 1864. There is also the following reference, the Roteiro da viagem que fez o capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro às fronteiras da capitania do Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 [Itinerary of the journey made by Captain Francisco de Paula Ribeiro to the boundaries of the province of Maranhão and of Goiás in the year 1815], in which the Tapirapé are mentioned (37) as one of the "barbarous and intractable nations" who inhabit the "basin of the Tocantins."

176 Concerning two maps of the period, Kinsenberth writes (2, 41): "The map of Brazil by C.F. Klöden, which appeared in 1817, mentions the Indians Tapirapeques north of a tributary of the Araguaia, which corresponds to the present-day Tapirapé River. A. Brué's 1826 map also mentions Tapirapeques north of the tributary of the Araguaia which is now called the Farto River. This map shows a Tapirapé River north of Bananal Island, approximately below the ninth degree. Tapirapé Indian dwellings are to be found south of this left tributary of the Araguaia."

114 174 On Table 28 of Balbi's Atlas ethnographique [Ethnographic Atlas] (Paris, 1826), in which Ferdinand Denis deals with "Langues de la région Guarani-Brésileinne [Languages of the Guarani region of Brazil]" and which reveals the state of progress of Brazilian ethnography in the first half of the last century, Tapirapé is not listed in the "Guarani Family" which includes the "East-Guarani [99:67] or Brazilian, also called Tupi and Lingoa-Geral." We read only that there is a "Tappiraques [spoken] by the Tappiraques or Tappirapes. In the province of Mato Grosso they occupy a large part of the Tappiraquia district, to which they have lent their name and where they are found in greater numbers than any other savage group" [translated from French]. The Tapirapé language is missing from the vocabularies of Table 41 ("Tableau polyglotte des langues américaines [Polyglot Table of American Languages]") in the same atlas. Actually, the fact that Tapirapé was not included

114 in the Guaraní-Tupí family makes it probable that it was unknown
174 at the time, not only to scholars, but possibly even to the Brazilian frontiersmen. It is to be supposed that the latter would have recognized it as akin to the Língua-Geral, which was much more widely known by "civilized" or "Christian" people over 100 years ago than it is now. The lack of contact which may be inferred from the above-mentioned unfamiliarity is made understandable by the observation of the contemporaneous Casal [I, 259] that the "Tappiraquia" region is unexplored "except for its eastern boundary along the Araguaia."

175 The first volume of Pohl's work (I, 341), which appeared in
[648] 1832, contains the information, also included in the Memoria [Memoir] written by Silva e Souza in 1812, that the capitão-mor [Tr., military officer in charge of local militia] João de Godoy Pinto da Silveira had imprisoned 100 "Tapirapéz" who all died in Vila-Boa.

Castelnau (II, 114) says that in 1844, when he went down the Araguaia, he was told about the existence of a village "of Tapirapé, which is located in the province of Mato Grosso, at the approximate latitude of the northern tip of Bananal Island, on a large stream which flows into the Furo River from the left" [translated from French].

In his classical outline of Brazilian tribes published in 1867, Martius (2, I, 205) includes the Tapirapé with the "Central Tupí," although he does not provide a Tapirapé vocabulary in his "Glossarios de diversas lingoas e dialectos, que fallão os Indios no imperio do Brazil [Glossary of the various languages and dialects spoken by the Indians of the Empire of Brazil]" (2, II). Furthermore, giving as his source the Diccionario [Dictionary] of Milliet de Saint-Adolphe, he lists (2, I, 205) the Tapirapé, "who are said, according to one tradition, to have come from Rio de Janeiro," as inhabitants of the "Tapirapés River (a western tributary of the Araguaia)." Since Martius gives no reason for classifying the Tapirapé as Tupí, it is to be assumed that he was familiar with the data of Souza Villa Real concerning the names of eight "prominent" Tapirapé, while apparently these data were not taken into account by the linguistic study of Ferdinand Denis since they were published 22 years later, in 1848.
[114]

Moraes Jardim (24), who explored the Araguaia in 1879, [175] writes as follows about the Tapirapé River: "The steamship Araguaya, under the [99:68] command of the late Lieutenant Balduino, ascended this river about ten leagues from its mouth to a harbor of the Tapirapé Indians without encountering any difficulties. When he reached this point, the captain sent a few scouts to the village, which stood some distance from the river. The Indians, however, sensed their approach and ran away, and the captain achieved nothing more than a reconnaissance of this section of the river."

João Severiano de Fonseca (I, 90) refers to this ascent of the Tapirapé River as follows: "The worthy Commander Balduino de Aguiar, so well known for his heroic deeds in the battles of the Coimbra Fortress and in others on the Paraguay River and at São Lourenço, ascended this river in 1868 for about 50 kilometers in a small steamer, the Araguaya, which Mr. Couto de Magalhães had brought in from Cuiabá to explore the river, whose name it adopted."

[191] At that time, therefore, the Tapirapé lived closer to the Araguaia than today.

Moraes Jardim also writes (34): "The Tapirapés have built their villages on the banks of the river of the same name. It is said that they are gentle Indians, more industrious than the others, but we have not had any contact with them so far."

[174] There must have been indirect contact between the Tapirapé and the Whites at that time, however, probably through the Karajá, for aside from the above-mentioned notice concerning their gentleness and industriousness, we read the following concerning quartz lip ornaments in an article about the Karajá written by Aristides de Souza Spinola and included in the pamphlet by Moraes Jardim (40): "In the course of my journey I saw only one common Indian [ornament] of this sort. I possess two in my small Indian chest received from the Tapirapés, who inhabit the banks of the river of the same name, a tributary of the Araguaia."

Ehrenreich, who went down the Araguaia in 1888, says in 1891 (2, 88): "The Araguaia River region is inhabited by the Tapirapé, who in truth have not yet been visited by any traveler, but who already had contact with the colonists in the past century." Like Martius, he includes these Indians with the "Central Tupí"

1: Balée--21 E-5 (1935,1947) 1944-1949 SP22 Tapirapé SP22

175 (ibid.). [Ed., the last few lines of p. 68 and most of p. 69 are omitted.]

[99:69] Concerning the contact of the Tapirapé with the 175 Whites during the past century, one should also mention the 648 Colégio Isabel [Isabel School], which Couto de Magalhães (2, 132) referred to as follows a few years after its founding in 1871: "... all the tribes of the Araguaia are now represented among its 52 pupils." According to the preface to the second edition of the Viagem ao Araguaya [Journey to the Araguaia] by the same author (1, p. XXV), "About 20 children of both sexes immediately entered from the tribes of the Chavantes, Gorotirés, Cayapós, Tapirapés, and three from the extinct tribe of the Guajajaras."

In this connection, one should note that while the Guajajara are not yet extinct, the same cannot be said of the Colégio Isabel. Its existence was brief. In the account [99:70] of his 1888 journey published in 1892, Ehrenreich (3, 4) writes as follows: "On August 14, a number of Kayapó arrived in Leopoldina. They came from the so-called Colégio Isabel, which is now located two leagues down-river on the left bank, near Dumbazinho. They were in the company of their headmaster. They provided us with linguistic and somatic data. At the same time, we learned something of the situation in that colony, which is quite typical of the way in which the civilizing task is often carried out in this country. The institute was founded by Couto de Magalhães in the year 1871, with the aim of Christianizing Indian children, turning them into sedentary colonists, and attracting, at the same time, their savage tribal fellows. The government furnished clothes and other imported articles, especially agricultural tools. It also provided a considerable quantity of cattle, of which, at the time of his marriage, every Indian received a certain number. In addition, the government also provided an annual subvention of 5 contos. At the time of Couto de Magalhães, and especially during Sebastião's administration, the school prospered and enjoyed universal respect, even among the most distant savage tribes. Kayapó and Tapirapé children entered the school. I was told that a Tapirapé who had been educated there and who had later returned to his tribe, appeared a few years later on the river bank and awaited the arrival of the steamer for two months in a Karajá encampment so he could send his son to the same institution.

000 Only the Karajá, who will not part from their children under any circumstances, did not want to have anything to do with the school. Unfortunately, the mistake was made once of taking children from these Indians by force. As a result, they now keep all the children away whenever a ship comes by. At the time of our visit, the institute was badly neglected. The headmaster treated the Indians as slaves and ordered them to work in his personal service. The forlorn boys were exposed to his brutality and to that of his friends. The girls had to attend to the pleasure of all their oppressors. Most of them had already borne children or were about to do so. No new Indians had appeared for a long time, for the outrages of the White civilizers had increasingly kept them away. Most of the school Indians had already reached the age of 30, but not one of them thought of leaving. Trained all along to slavery and tutelage, they carried on their services with dumb indolence. Of course, there was no longer any question of teaching. The cattle had been stolen or had run away. The funds provided by the government ended up in the headmaster's pocket. Later, [99:71] Dr. Baggi, who as a good republican attempted to uncover and prosecute all the abuses of the current regime, achieved the suppression of the institute."

Although a few Tapirapé individuals encountered Whites during the nineteenth century, there is no evidence that the latter had any direct contact at that time with the bulk of the tribe. Ehrenreich (5), who in his classification cited above, published in 1891, includes the Tapirapé among the "Central Tupí," confesses as late as 1905 that they are known only by hearsay and this makes it impossible to state whether they are related to the Eastern or the Central Tupí. He adds that possibly they are a separate group that originated in Pará or Maranhão.

The few Tapirapé who were seen by Whites during the first ten years of this century were chiefly women and children abducted by the Karajá. Krause (2, 320 and 404) says that the [1939] Karajá carried out these abductions at the times when the men of the Tupí tribe left their families to go and trade with them on a sand bar of the Tapirapé River. The captive women served them as laborers and sexual partners, and the resulting children became part of the tribe. Some of those women and children were made prisoners in the course of an attack when the Karajá killed several

175 726 men. Concerning this, there is the following reference by Glass (139) who was in the village of the attackers in 1909: "... the women and children were carried away captive to the Bananal Island, and they either became part of the Carajá tribe we had seen or else were sold to any bidder sometimes to white men in exchange for an ox or other thing, their equivalent for money" [cited in English].

175 648 Krause, who explored the Araguaia in 1908, writes (2, 405): "In the villages of the Karajá I saw, in all, two women, three young girls, and two boys of the Tapirapé tribe." Kissenberth, who was in the same area in that year and the following one, observed (2, 47): "I saw, in all, only seven individuals belonging to the Tapirapé: the near-sexagenarian Ngroatí (Figs. 4 and 5), whom I found in a village of Mẽkubengokrẽ-Kayapó called Ororogdjakamkikrẽ, located on the large stream Salobro, a tributary of the Pau-d'arco; two boys, one of whom was in the power of a rubber trader coming down the Araguaia, while the other was a slave of Tamanako, chief of the Karajá village Woudõ; in addition, there were three women and one girl, slaves of Chief Crisóstomo of Weheriadõ village, Chief Tamanako, and Chief Iwaní of Dozahãkã village."

Dona Delfina de Arruda Correia told me when I passed through the city [sic] of Goiás on September 5, 1935, [99:72] that when she was a teacher at the Leopoldina school she had among her pupils three or four Tapirapé boys brought by the Karajá. "The latter had abducted them and sold them," said the lady, without specifying, however, when those events took place.

114 175 648 A reference by Krause (2, 29) deserves special mention. According to him, an Italian with his camaradas had abducted a Tapirapé girl whom he later sold to the Karajá, shortly before Krause reached the Araguaia. If this really happened, the Italian would be, to the best of our knowledge, the first White to make contact with the Tapirapé on tribal territory in this century. When I wrote this to Professor Krause, he answered me (letter of July 9, 1937): "I do not believe that the Italian really visited the Tapirapé. He may have abducted, or attempted to abduct, a Tapirapé girl who lived with the Karajá. This at least may be inferred from the hostility that the Karajá are said to have shown

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[148] towards him. But even such an assumption is more than doubtful. I lend no importance whatever to that rumor."

This explanation once accepted, Fritz Krause himself becomes, to our knowledge, the first White who made a systematic attempt to contact the Tupí tribe in the twentieth century. In August and September, 1908, he ascended the Tapirapé River with great difficulty to its last navigable stretch, and then traveled over the area lying to the north of its upper course. He found footprints on the sand, dams in the water, barbecues in the forest, and the remnants of summer dwellings on the savanna.

In April of the following year, Wilhelm Kissenberth, another German ethnographer, was even less successful. He gave up on the second day of his journey up the Tapirapé River, having reached the conclusion that "the only practical access to the Tapirapé villages is by land, since the inherent difficulties of an ascent of the Tapirapé River must be the same in the dry season as they are at flood time" (Kissenberth 1, 4).

Finally, in the course of an expedition in search of rubber trees that was carried out in 1911, a few men from Ceará led by their countryman Alfredo Olímpio de Oliveira, after having gone up the Tapirapé River and crossed the savanna, met the Tapirapé Indians and lived with them for a while in their villages. The first information about this was given to me by Colonel João Crisóstimo de Oliveira, a brother of Mr. Alfredo. Later, when I was in Tampiitáua, the Indian Kamairahó [99:73] frequently recalled with praise Mr. Alfredo and his companions. Actually, this journey of the Ceará men was described by Angione Costa (221-224), who published an article about it in July 29, 1912, in the
[113] Folha do Norte [a newspaper] of Belém, Pará. In addition, the following passage appears in the report on the Dominican expedition of 1914 called "Entre os Tapirapés [Among the Tapirapé]" and published in the Mensageiro do Santo Rosario (316-317): "In 1911, a group of rubber gatherers thought that the banks of the waterway (H.B. [author]: the Tapirapé River) would be rich in rubber. The leader of the expedition was one Mr. Alfredo. The starting point was Conceição. The explorations lasted for several months, from May to November. Instead of rubber, they discovered Indian villages, the three villages of the Tapirapé. It

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175 was the first time that these savages had seen civilized people, or, to use the popular term, Christians. It was God's will that savages and Christians should fraternize. Alfredo became a friend of the Tapirapé and brought to Conceição a group consisting of an elderly woman, her granddaughter of 11 or 12, and a few men. During the trip the men ran away. The girl was provided with clothes when she reached the mission."

[13] On October 9, 1912, the Rio newspaper O Paiz transcribed from the fortnightly Goiás paper O Estado de Goyaz of September 15 of the same year an article entitled "Proteção aos Indios [Indian Protection Service]," according to which Dr. Francisco Mandacarú had visited a Tapirapé village located six and three-quarters leagues from the river of the same name and had returned "a Tapirapé woman and her son of 12" whom he had "rescued" in Conceição, where they were "enslaved" (Kissenberth 2, 36, 43). They were probably the grandmother and granddaughter brought by Mr. Alfredo and mentioned in the report of the Dominicans quoted above.

Speaking of the tribes of the Araguaia, Glass (139) says that in 1913, "the Government Inspector of the Indians of this region [161] ascended the Tapirapé River and discovered about 1000 or 1500 [648] of this tribe still existing, but living forty miles away from the river for fear of the Carajás. He estimates that the Carajás, Tapirapés, Javahés, Cherentes [Sherente], Chavantes, and one or two other tribes around that district, number over 20,000 Indians" [cited in English].

In June, 1914, the French Dominicans, Domingos Carrerot, Sebastião Thomas, and Francisco Bigorre, visited the Tapirapé village located 50 kilometers from the river. They were led by the Indian Valadar, the son of a Karajá father and a Tapirapé mother. This guide had participated in Mr. Alfredo's expedition.

Ten years later, according to the Mensageiro do Santo [113] Rosario of April, 1934, page 207, the "regular catechization" of 797 the [99:74] Tapirapé by the Dominicans had a "definitive start." 175 That means that the Fathers of Conceição do Araguaia have ascended the Tapirapé River to the port of São Domingos every two years or so since 1924, awaiting there the arrival of the Indians, alerted to their presence by the smoke rising from burned grassland. Sometimes they proceed on foot to the summer dwellings

175 of the tribe at Lake Tucunaré or some other location not too far
797 from the river. They remain with the Tapirapé for one or several days, distributing axes, bush knives, knives, scissors, tobacco, and other gifts, and fulfilling their religious duties.

Aside from them, missionaries of other creeds have attempted
114 and are still attempting to save the souls of the Tampiitáua in-
175 habitants. In 1923, the Baptist minister Benedito Propheta had
797 some slight contact with these Indians, but did not reach their village. What little he has to say about them in his book, with great verbosity, is too confused and erroneous to be of scientific value.

In August, 1930, the British missionary, Josiah Wilding, of the Evangelical Union of South America, accompanied by the North American traveler Miss Elizabeth Steen, paid a brief visit to Tampiitáua. In the following year, North American Adventists spent one night in the village. In 1932, the British expedition in search of the vanished Colonel Fawcett, which is described so enjoyably in Peter Fleming's book, met the Tapirapé at the port of São Domingos. This was a slight contact of the kind these Indians also had with a group of prospectors, hunters, and an official of the Indian Service. The movie-making group from São Paulo referred to in Pompílio's notes (301-304) spent one night with them in August, 1934, at Lake Tucunaré and did not push on to Tampiitáua. At the end of August, 1935, Madame Rayliane de la Falaise and her husband spent two days in that village. The statements made about the Tapirapé by this charming and elegant writer are, for the most part, sheer fantasy.

The first White since the expedition of Mr. Alfredo, that
797 is, since 1911, to live with the Tapirapé, not just for one or sev-
175 eral days but for weeks and months on end, was the British missionary F.C. Kegel of the Evangelical Union of South America, which is established at Macauba on Bananal Island. He stayed with them in August, September, and October of 1932, from July to November of 1933, from August to November of 1934, and from June to August of 1935. We spent this last period there together, he and I.

114 [99:75] The North American ethnographer, Dr. Charles
175 Wagley, stayed with these Indians from April to Octobe[illegible] 1939,

114 and from December of the same year until May, 1940.

175 A few Tapirapé accompanied the Dominicans and Mr. Kegel to the Araguaia and stayed briefly in the settlements of the Fathers and of the Evangelical missionary.

Considering all the various contacts that the Tapirapé have 177 had with the Whites, it is clearly impossible to determine the in- 197 fluence of each one of them. True, I was able to identify certain melodies as having been imported by Reverend Kegel and to determine the origin of some beads, clothes, and iron tools. The source of the vague allusions to Jesus Christ, however, had already become undecipherable owing to the number and variety of catechists and other visitors who might have mentioned the subject. Iron tools had already been introduced by the Karajá long before the arrival of the rubber gatherers from Ceará. And non-autochthonous plants, such as certain varieties of the banana, have been cultivated by the Tapirapé from time immemorial. [164] Also, the diseases of European origin had already reached the Tupí tribe, probably through indirect contact with the Whites, that is to say, through other Indians.

If we look at the total influence of the Whites, both direct 177 and indirect, we may say that it has impoverished Tapirapé culture. The iron tools make it easier to farm and to manufacture various implements, but the need to replace them constantly makes the Indians who become used to them dependent on our civilization. No such consequence derived from the introduction of sugar cane and other plants, but these remain unessential in view of the successful cultivation of numerous autochthonous plants. It is worth noting, incidentally, that while iron tools have replaced previous implements made of other materials, they have not changed the traditional division of labor between the sexes. Nor do traits of European origin appear as fertilizing elements in other areas of the culture, such as ornamentation, house building, diet, industry, or the concept of the supernatural. Metal spoons are found along with shells and gourds, beads along with strung seeds; a piece of our clothing is worn with body painting; a pipe with an upright bowl, in the fashion of the Whites, is used alongside the simple smoking tube; Jesus Christ is identified with a figure who appears in their mythology as the owner of large pigs and iron implements, as "captain [chief]," husband, and father.

114 The Kayapó who have intimidated the Tapirapé over the past few years, however, do not belong to the bands visited by
175 Krause in 1908 and by Kissenberth in the same year and the
726 following one, that is to say, the Indians called Kayapó-Mẽkubengokré by this author. Kissenberth (2, 40) heard Mẽkubengokré elders relate that the last hostile encounters between their people and the Tapirapé had occured approximately in the middle of the last century. This traveler does not [102:126] explain, however, how the near-sexagenarian Tapirapé he saw in a Mẽkubengokré village (ibid., 47 and Figs. 4 and 5; 1, Figs. 18 and 19) got there and was annexed to the tribe.

171 I shall show later that the Tapirapé have a few cultural traits that are similar to traits of these Kayapó, but not as many as the ones that reveal their kinship with the Karajá. [Ed., the remainder of the section in Vol. 102, pp. 126-130, is omitted.]

[103:183] Chapter 5

The Number of Villages and of Tribal Members

621 Sixteenth-century authors, such as Pero de Magalhães de
171 Gandavo (45) and Gabriel Soares de Sousa (362), already pointed out the propensity of the Tupí Indians to divide into bands as a result of certain dissensions. [Ed., the remainder of this paragraph and the following paragraph are omitted.]

621 In the case of the Tapirapé, the disruptive forces were not only countered by the authority of Kamairahó in Tampiitáua, but
[731] were also kept at bay by more powerful destructive forces, that is
[554] to say, terrible epidemics. Kamairahó's authority became apparent when I attempted to ascertain in which of the various villages, now extinct, the individuals who make up the present population of Tampiitáua had originated. Those who had revealed their birthplace to me [103:184] did not dare repeat the information in the presence of this most influential leader. The unifying
[578] activity of Kamairahó was justified by the fact that old antagonisms between the villages were not yet entirely forgotten, although they were seldom recalled.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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161 had continued during the last thirteen years. Yet I found
178 that even with so small a population Tapirapé society still functioned as an organized unit and Tapirapé culture persisted, although highly modified by the events of the last thirteen years. Several points of theoretical importance can be learned from recent Tapirapé history and from some observations on social and cultural changes since 1940.

175 The sketchy outline of Tapirapé history between
[127] 1940 and 1953, which I have been able to piece together with the help of the Indians themselves, of Sr. Valentim Gomes (the officer of the post of the Brazilian Indian Service which services the Tapirapé, and my companion during both visits to the tribe in 1939-40), and of a published report by Herbert Baldus,[3] indicates the tremendous shocks this society has suffered in the last decade. Briefly, this history is as follows: In 1941, just a year after my 1940 visit, a serious epidemic broke out in the
[731 Tapirapé village in which I had lived. As usual, following
578] an epidemic during which there is a series of deaths, dissension broke out within the village. A well-known shaman was killed and a group of Tapirapé ("perhaps thirty in number") fled the village to the Brazilian town of Furo de Pedra, some two hundred kilometers from their village. It is reported that at least two people died during this trip and that the group returned to their village infected with common colds. By August of 1940, Sr. Gomes was able to ascertain that twenty-six people
175 had died since June of the same year. In September of
648 1941 an Indian Post for the protection of the Tapirapé was opened, but it was established at the mouth of the Tapirapé River, near the Carajá whom the Tapirapé feared and near Brazilians from whom they contracted new infections. That year, a few Indians visited the Post but after the death of a young Tapirapé man at the Post and an unfortunate experience with a group of drunken Brazilian men, only rarely did a Tapirapé

3. "Tribos da Bacia do Araguaia e o Serviço de Proteção aos Índios", in *Revista do Museu Paulista*, N. S., Vol. II, São Paulo, 1948, pp. 137-168.

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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[797]

Indian venture to visit the Post. For almost three years, their only contact with Brazilian culture was via the Dominican priests and an occasional hunter who visited them upriver in their own village or at one of the ports along the Tapirapé River which they were accustomed to approach. For a few years, the Tapirapé lived in relative peace.

In 1947, the year when Herbert Baldus again visited the Tapirapé, two events took place which were crucial in the further disorganization of their society. First, he encountered eight families of Brazilians at Porto Velho, half-way up the Tapirapé River, in an area which had always been traditional hunting and fishing territory of the Tapirapé. This was but the beginning of the steady occupation of the lands along the Tapirapé River by Brazilians; by 1953 it was estimated that 120 families were living along the river, and there were three cattle ranches at spots along the banks where the Indians often came to fish and hunt during the dry season. The vast and open *campos* along the Tapirapé River, which before 1940 simply teemed with game, now provided grazing lands for cattle. No longer was the contact of the Tapirapé with Brazilians sporadic and brief, but it had become continuous and frequent.

Secondly, it was in 1947 that the Tapirapé were attacked by the northern Kayapo as related by Baldus.[4] Four women were killed during the attack and two young women captured by the Kayapo, and the Tapirapé village was burned along with most of their belongings such as hammocks, utensils and tools. The entire Tapirapé group were driven by fear and hunger to the margins of the Tapirapé River where they depended upon a Brazilian rancher and the simple Brazilian frontiersmen for food. From 1947 until 1950, Tapirapé society as an organized unit might be said not to have existed; a group of families lived near a ranch on the Tapirapé River attempting to plant gardens in the narrow strip of forest along the river but they were mainly existing on what

[4] *Loc. cit.*, p. 142

3: Wagley E-5 (1939-1953) 1955
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they might beg from the Brazilian. Another group of families came to live at the Indian post near the mouth of the Tapirapé River, where the Indian officer helped them build temporary shelters and provided them with food. And earlier, before the Kayapo attack, a small group of families had broken from the main village to migrate to a distant village site called Čičutawa, far to the north.[4] During these years, ceremonial and religious life, normal family life, aboriginal economic activities, and in fact most of the regular activities of their society were either completely suspended or affected by a marginal existence to the Brazilian frontiersmen.

But in 1950 Tapirapé society was, in a sense, re-organized. As a result of the efforts of the Indian officer, all of the remaining Tapirapé (except those who had migrated to the north) came together to form a village which they called *Tawiáho* (New Village), some six kilometers from the Post Heloísa Alberto Torres. By 1953 this village had been fully completed, and the Tapirapé had relatively large and productive gardens in the forest some three or four kilometers from it. The village had been constructed, as in aboriginal times, in a circle surrounding a large men's ceremonial house. The houses were in general of the aboriginal type, each housing several biological families. Ceremonials had begun again and, as before, the nights were filled with singing. Although considerably modified, normal Tapirapé social life was again possible. Although for a short period Tapirapé *society* might be said not to have existed, Tapirapé *culture* continued to live in the minds of these few remaining individuals and it allowed them, given the opportunity, to recreate, although in a much attenuated form, their social life. This is a striking example of the difference between a society and its culture.

But both Tapirapé society and Tapirapé culture had been considerably modified by the events of the last decade. There were striking differences in social

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 137-138. This group has never been heard of since they left. It is the opinion of the remaining Tapirapé that they were killed by the Kayapo since Čičutawa is near Kayapo territory.

/403 cont./
T 175 are Karajá who are so named because they live on the lower course
114 of the Tapirapé. On page 174 he mentions a village of the /404/
Tapirapé on the Fecho de Tapirapé and a village of the Karajá
five days upward in the Tapirapé River; the one village consists
of one house with ten occupants, the other, one house with 20 (p.
186). Here, therefore, the Tapirapé are regarded as a horde of
the Karajá who live at the mouth of the river itself, and in the
river, five days above the mouth, there is another village of
Karajá! Coudreau was here the end of April; he encountered
only a few places of the Karajá. His other reports are likewise
very confused and uncertain, so that one may trace these, too,
C back to misunderstood information given by the Karajá.
115 2. Information obtained /Erkundetes/. The information that
T I obtained from the Karajá was the following:
13 The Tapirapé (in Karajá: ūŏhŭ) live six to nine days' journey
[101] in a boat above the emptying of the river into the Araguaya. From
the landing place one is obliged to walk another half day, accord-
T ing to others two days, over the campo in order to reach their vil-
105 lages. They occupy three villages, and, to be sure, one large one
and two smaller ones (according to one isolated statement, four
villages). The men wear penis cuffs plaited out of palm leaves.
Both sexes wear the hair hanging down to the small of the back.
The men wear long lip-plugs of (reddish?) stone. Ear plugs are also
customary. Their ornaments are similar to those of the Karajá.
Tattooing occurs among the married women: they cut vertical
lines into their chins and one line on either side of the corners of
their mouths, obliquely downward; these lines are colored black.
They obtain their food primarily by cultivating manioc; since they
C are very industrious, they cultivate large quantities. They are
[879] therefore considered rich by the Karajá. Of animals they keep dogs
and, above all, araras, which the Karajá buy from them. Their
weapons are bows and arrows, clubs, spears, and spear throwers.
C They know how to work with cotton. They wind the spun threads
T into big balls, like those of the Karajá. The Karajá like to buy
[439] their large, firmly plaited, cotton net coverings with a wide, black
center stripe.

12: Wagley & Galvão E-5 (1939-1940) 1948
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THE TAPIRAPÉ

By CHARLES WAGLEY AND EDUARDO GALVÃO

INTRODUCTION

Isolated from other *Tupi-Guaraní*-speaking people, the *Tapirapé* live in Central Brazil, west of the Araguaya River and north of the Tapirapé River, a western tributary flowing into the Araguaya near the northern tip of the Island of Bananal (lat. 2° S., long. 52° W.). According to tradition, the *Tapirapé* lived for a time on the banks of the Araguaya and Javahé Rivers with the *Carajá*. They quarreled, and the *Tapirapé* moved west to their present territory (map 1, *No. 1;* see Volume 1, map 7). At the beginning of last century, five *Tapirapé* villages formed a line stretching northward into *Cayapó* country beginning at a point a few miles back from the Tapirapé River about 150 miles from its mouth. The *Tapirapé* have always been at war with the *Cayapó* except for a brief period. Each of these villages contained at least 200 individuals with a total *Tapirapé* population of about 1,000. Since 1900, however, there has been a terrific reduction of *Tapirapé* population.

In 1939, there was only one remaining *Tapirapé* village situated about 20 miles north of the Tapirapé River with a total population of 147 people. This decline in population is basically due to disease (smallpox, respiratorial diseases, etc.) acquired either directly from Neo-Brazilians or from the *Carajá*, who are continually in contact with Neo-Brazilians. *Tapirapé* groups have been also massacred on several occasions by both the *Carajá* and *Cayapó*.

The *Tapirapé* have had but few contacts, however, with Neo-Brazilians. Except for the demoralizing effect of depopulation, their culture has been little modified. Although stories are told of Neo-Brazilian hunters visiting the *Tapirapé* in 1909, the first registered contact with them was in 1912. During that year, Señor Mandacurú, leading an expedition of the Brazilian Indian Protection Service, visited the village nearest the Tapirapé River. In 1914, the Dominican priests visited the *Tapirapé*. From that date on, the Dominicans returned each year or so to a camp on the Tapirapé River for 3 or 4 days at a time and were met by the *Tapirapé*, to whom they distributed trade goods. About 1934, a Protestant missionary, Frederick Kiegel, made several trips, staying 2 or 3 months in a *Tapirapé* village. In 1935, the first trained ethnologist, Dr. Herbert Baldus, resided several months with the *Tapirapé*, and in 1939–40, Wagley spent 12 months with them making the study on which this article is based.